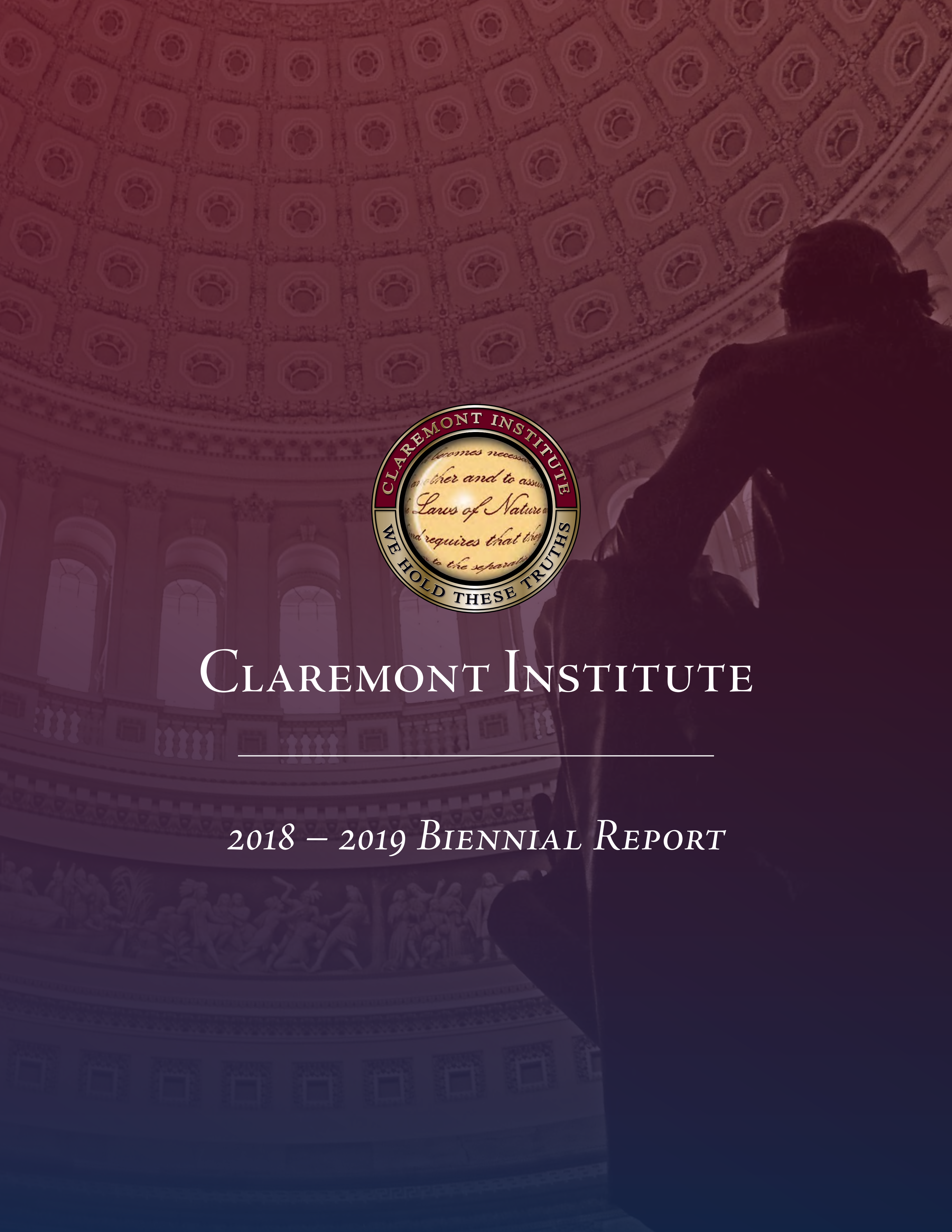


Claremont Institute

2018 – 2019 Biennial Report

Claremont Institute

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Contents



On November 21, 2019, Ryan Williams accepts the National Humanities Medal on behalf of the Claremont Institute from President Donald J. Trump.



On May 11, 2019, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo receives the Statesmanship Award at the Claremont Institute's 40th Anniversary Gala in Beverly Hills.

Dear Claremont friends and supporters,

The Claremont Institute's 2018 and 2019 fiscal years (July 1, 2017—June 30, 2019) were a time of transition and growth for the institution as well as a vital period for American politics and the American idea. I am very grateful for your partnership and support in this very important work.

We lengthened and refined our longstanding educational offerings, increased our alumni engagement, expanded our national audience, and launched new and important publications and products like *The American Mind* [see p. 35 of this report for the mission and work of this new project].

Our work at the Claremont Institute has always had at its core the "scholarship of the politics of freedom," as our longtime Distinguished Fellow Harry Jaffa eloquently put it. In recent years, we have focused more intently on bringing that scholarship to bear on the most pressing political issues during a time of great crisis in American politics.

After over a century of progressivism and liberalism, the modern left is now openly and increasingly anti-American in a spirit and tone we used to find only in the radical departments at our "elite" colleges and universities. Not just in America but across the western world, the left now embraces and advances, relentlessly and at every turn, the ideology of multiculturalism and its identity politics.

To be clear, in using the term "multiculturalism," I am not referring to benign celebrations of ethnic pride or traditions, but an adversarial multiculturalism that advocates dividing Americans into hostile tribes. Likewise, multiculturalism is not be confused with multiethnicity. America has always been, and will continue to be, a multiethnic nation.

> *"If we are to meet the threats to America and the American way of life, we must continue the vital work of recovering American principles and applying them politically to the most urgent questions of governance and policy.*

Multiculturalism's design is to divide and conquer the American people and, most disturbingly of all, curtail the political freedoms (especially speech and thought) that have made America great. The left will settle for nothing less than the eclipse and transformation of the old American principles of justice—equal protection of equal rights—into a new caste system based on racial, sexual, and gender identities.

While it is true many of our fellow citizens across the political spectrum (left, right, and center) object to multiculturalism and identity politics, it remains the case that only the intellectual and political "right" in America can confront and defeat this problem.

At the Claremont Institute we have framed this war—and make no mistake, it is a war—as a conflict between Multiculturalism and America. This crisis is urgent, and is one of the many reasons we have tried to understand and explain to leaders and fellow citizens alike the political earthquake of 2016 and Trump's election as symptoms of the public's alarm at this trajectory of American politics over the last 55 years.

If we are to meet the threats to America and the American way of life—whether they be ideological and political domestic threats, or the threat of foreign adversaries like China—we must continue the vital work of recovering American principles and applying them politically to the most urgent questions of governance and policy.

This means, for the Claremont Institute, the decision to get more directly involved in political questions than we have been in the past. To that end, the coming years will mean an expanded operation in Washington, DC we are calling the Center for the American Way of Life. The work of the Center will be above all to speak frankly and candidly about the central threats to the American regime and to be a leader of and distribution center for the most important rhetorical and policy solutions to those threats.

> *“The Claremont Institute will continue our 40-year tradition of scholarship and teaching while extending that principled work into the political realm.*

We must build and strengthen the coalition on the right that is rooted in the true principles of the old America but unafraid to think boldly—even radically—about what it will take to defend America and Americanism in a new and changing digital age.

We will continue our 40-year tradition of scholarship and teaching while extending that principled work into the political realm in order to help save American self-government and political freedom before it is too late.

We are grateful for your support these many years and look forward to many more years fighting together for this noble and beautiful country and its people.

Sincerely yours,

Ryan P. Williams, President


Ryan P. Williams
President
The Claremont Institute


THE
CLAREMONT
INSTITUTE
Gregory Kearney

Center for Political Philosophy & Statesmanship

The core mission of our Fellowship programs is to find those who truly understand the current political moment, bring together the best thinkers and doers from across the nation, and educate them. With over 700 accomplished alumni, including Mark Levin, Senator Tom Cotton, Laura Ingraham, Ben Shapiro, the late Andrew Breitbart, James O'Keefe, and Mollie Hemingway, Claremont's highly competitive Fellowship programs grew over the last two years with more applicants, faculty, and programming to teach and guide the most influential and exciting young network of leaders in America.

Our oldest program, the Publius Fellowship, continued to educate rising leaders in their early twenties on the Right, highlighting the relevance of the principles of American government to the pressing questions of our hotly contested and rapidly changing political landscape. The program expanded to two and a half weeks in 2019 and brought in more faculty from across the nation, including famed historian and Claremont Institute Senior Fellow Allen Guelzo, Senior Research Scholar and Director of the Initiative on Politics and Statesmanship in the James Madison Program at Princeton University. Dr. Guelzo taught sessions on Abraham Lincoln and Harry Jaffa's revival of Lincoln's thought. Matthew Spalding, Claremont Senior Fellow and Dean of the Van Andel Graduate School of Government for Hillsdale College in Washington, DC, taught sessions on the statesmanship of George Washington and Henry Clay.

The Lincoln Fellowship continued to recruit national leaders at mid-career seeking further education in order to enhance their work saving America. They included members of the Trump administration along with others in media, politics, academia, and business, engaged in the vital work of thinking through how best to combat the rising extremism of the left and reform the right in light of American principles. They studied with such guiding lights as Claremont Institute Senior Fellow Angelo Codevilla, who introduced the phrases "ruling class" and "cold civil war" into our current national public discourse. They saw Hillsdale College lecturer and research fellow Michael Anton—another Claremont Institute Senior Fellow and author of the influential "Flight 93 Election" essay (and former senior national security official)—debate Berkeley Law Professor and frequent Fox News contributor John Yoo about the future of American foreign policy.

The John Marshall Fellowship continues to attract the top young conservative lawyers in the nation who are leaving or entering clerkships with federal and Supreme Court judges and justices. As one major legal news site recently stated, "Claremont fellowships are not uncommon among SCOTUS [Supreme Court of the United States] clerks, especially the conservative ones." Along with John Eastman, Director of the Claremont Institute's Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence, the Fellows heard from one former and one current federal judge and had wide-ranging discussions with Claremont scholars about how to restore a principled constitutionalism based in natural law and natural rights.

In only its third year, the Speechwriters Fellowship continues to attract more applicants, hosting the top writers for many of the most influential politicians in the nation. This network already supports fellow members with career advice and advancement, and the Claremont Institute now assists national political



The 2019 Publius Fellows engage in a discussion about America's founding principles.



The 2018 John Marshall Fellows celebrate the end of their fellowship program with a closing dinner in Newport Beach.

figures in finding speechwriters who understand our founding principles. These are the minds crafting the rhetoric in the war of words that will help turn the tide and revive Americanism, constitutionalism, and just government. Its early success signals the desire and need for expanded educational programming in our nation's capital.

Recent Claremont Fellows are publishing books and articles and are appearing on the nation's top news and opinion shows to address our political scene, helping guide through a confusing and difficult time. At a widely hailed conference on National Conservatism in Washington, DC in 2019, many speakers were Claremont Fellows. Shortly after attending the 2018 Marshall Fellowship, Josh Hammer became Editor-at-large for Ben Shapiro's *The Daily Wire*, where he has written several articles weaving Claremont scholarship into popular writing for large audiences. 2018 Lincoln Fellow Jarrett Stepman's new book, *The War on History: The Conspiracy to Rewrite America's Past* was published this year, referencing Charles Kesler and the writings he studied with us. John Burtka, executive director of The American Conservative, published major op-eds in the *Washington Post* and elsewhere while appearing frequently on *Tucker Carlson Tonight* (along with several other fellows this year) on relevant issues and questions facing the nation.

We encourage our alumni to continue to think deeply about the meaning of conservatism and, most importantly, about what it means to be American. But we stay with them along the way, throughout their working lives, offering continuing education, events, mentorship, and advice—and connecting them with our network of scholars, thinkers, and doers throughout the nation. In our current turbulent and consequential political moment, we're

well positioned after 40 years of teaching and hard work: members of the Trump administration, leading national media figures, and public intellectuals frequently contact us and members of our network with questions about principle, policy, and hiring.

The demand for our educational programs increases as higher education continues to fail to teach Americans about America: even the best young leaders on the right do not receive an adequate education about American government and its founding principles. Indeed, in our elite colleges especially, they receive nearly the opposite: undergraduate and graduate degrees in anti-Americanism. That is why they come to us. In response, we have begun planning a new, longer "America Fellowship" that will serve as an intense intellectual bootcamp for national leaders, as well as new educational programs to teach rising young state and local political figures. ■



The 2018 Publius Fellows learn the importance of the Second Amendment with some hands-on training at a gun range in San Bernardino.



Michael Burstein, a Lincoln Fellow Sponsor (left), joins the 2018 Lincoln Fellows for a Duffy Boat ride around Newport Bay.

2018 – 2019 Fellowship Faculty



Michael Anton

- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Lecturer and Research Fellow, Hillsdale College



David Azerrad

- Director, B. Kenneth Simon Center for Principles and Politics and AWC Family Foundation Fellow, Heritage Foundation (now Assistant Professor of Government and Research Fellow at Hillsdale College's Washington, DC campus)



Mark Blitz

- Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Fletcher Jones Professor of Political Philosophy and Director of the Henry Salvatori Center for the Study of Individual Freedom, Claremont McKenna College



Mary Kate Cary

- Senior Fellow for Presidential Studies, University of Virginia's Miller Center



Angelo M. Codevilla

- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Professor Emeritus, Boston University



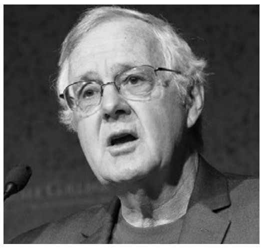
Justin B. Dyer

- Professor and Director of the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy, University of Missouri



John C. Eastman

- Founding Director, Claremont Institute Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence
- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Henry Salvatori Professor, Chapman University



Edward J. Erler

- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Professor Emeritus, California State University, San Bernardino



John Fonte

- Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for American Common Culture, Hudson Institute



Joshua Gilder

- Founding Director, White House Writers Group, Inc.



Jakub J. Grygiel

- Associate Professor, Catholic University of America



Allen C. Guelzo

- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Senior Research Scholar in the Council of the Humanities and Director of the Initiative on Politics and Statesmanship in the James Madison Program at Princeton University

2018 – 2019 Fellowship Faculty (cont.)



Philip Hamburger

- Maurice and Hilda Friedman Professor of Law, Columbia Law School



Clark Judge

- Founder and Managing Director, White House Writers Group, Inc.
- Former Speechwriter to President Ronald Reagan



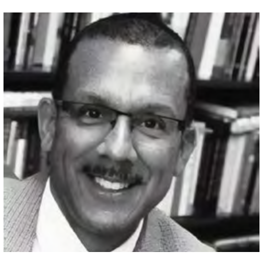
Charles R. Kesler

- Editor, *Claremont Review of Books*
- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Dengler-Dykema Distinguished Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College



John Marini

- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Professor, University of Nevada, Reno



Lucas E. Morel

- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Professor and Head of the Politics Department, Washington and Lee University



Paul Moreno

- William & Berniece Grewcock Chair in Constitutional History, Professor of History, and Dean of Social Sciences, Hillsdale College



Vincent Philip Muñoz

- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Tocqueville Associate Professor of Political Science and Associate Professor of Law, University of Notre Dame
- Director, Notre Dame's Tocqueville Program for Inquiry into Religion and Public Life



John O'Sullivan

- Editor-at-Large, *National Review*



Ronald J. Pestritto

- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Professor of Politics and Director of American Studies, Hillsdale College



Matthew J. Peterson

- Vice President of Education, Claremont Institute
- Editor, *The American Mind*



Kevin Portteus

- Associate Professor, California State University, San Bernardino



Joseph Postell

- Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs



Richard Samuelson
- Associate Professor, California State University, San Bernardino



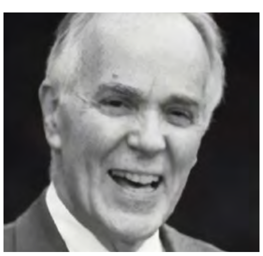
Diana Schaub
- Professor of Political Science, Loyola University Maryland



Colleen A. Sheehan
- Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Professor of Politics and Director of the Matthew J. Ryan Center for the Study of Free Institutions and the Public Good, Villanova University



Matthew Spalding
- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Associate Professor of Politics and Kirby Chair in Constitutional Government, Hillsdale College
- Dean, Hillsdale Graduate School of Government



Michael M. Uhlmann
- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Professor, Claremont Graduate University



Bradley C. S. Watson
- Senior Fellow, Claremont Institute
- Professor, Philip McKenna Chair, and Co-Director of the Center for Political and Economic Thought, St. Vincent College



John C. Yoo

- Emanuel Heller Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley
- Visiting Scholar, American Enterprise Institute
- Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

2018 – 2019 Special Guest Lecturers



Daniel Hannan

- Writer and Journalist
- Founding President, Initiative for Free Trade
- Former Member of the European Parliament



Judge Thomas Hardiman

- Circuit Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit
- Chairman of the IT Committee



Judge Janice Rogers Brown

- Retired Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit
- Jurist-in-Residence, Darling Foundation
- Visiting Professor, University of California Boalt School of Law

2018 Publius Fellows



Mary Monica Allen
Advisor on Middle East Policy for the Office of the Secretary of Defense

Jonah Bennett
Editor-in-Chief of *Palladium Magazine*

Paul Choix
Writer at ProActive Communications

Charles Correll III
Deputy Speechwriter for the Office of Republican Leader Kevin McCarthy

Daniel Davis
Commentary Editor and Podcast Host for The Heritage Foundation's *The Daily Signal*

Mark DiPlacido
Senior Legislative Assistant at Heritage Action for America

Ugonna Eze
Fellow for Constitutional Studies at the National Constitution Center

Brigid Flaherty
PhD Candidate in Political Science at Baylor University

Alexandra Hudson
Former Policy Advisor for the U.S. Department of Education

Wells King
Policy Advisor for the United States Joint Economic Committee and Senator Mike Lee's Social Capital Project

Bre Payton
Staff Writer for *The Federalist*

Andy Reuss
Associate Director of Speechwriting at the Office of the Vice President of the United States

Tim Rice
Senior Editor for Keybridge Communications

Alexander W. Titus
Manager of Strategic Partnerships for The Paul E. Singer Foundation

2019 Publius Fellows



Andrea Arellano
Research Associate at Consovoy McCarthy Park, PLLC

Monica Burke
Graduate Student at Catholic University

Marco Carralero
Public Service Management Consultant at Accenture

Max Diamond
Investigative Reporting Fellow at *RealClearPolitics*

Luke Foster
PhD Candidate at the University of Chicago's Committee on Social Thought

Andrew Gabel
Defense Analyst at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies

Kate J. Hardiman
Rehnquist Fellow at Cooper & Kirk, PLLC

Gregory Kearney
Research Analyst for Dr. Josh Rauh at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University

Michael Lachanski
MPA Candidate at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

Curt Mills
SpectatorUSA Washington Editor, a Robert Novak Fellow, and a Foreign Affairs columnist at *The National Interest*

Will Newman
Development Assistant at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation

Karl Notturno
Fellow at the Center for American Greatness and at the Abigail Adams Institute

J. D. Rimann
Law Student at the Southern Methodist University Dedman School of Law

Naweed Tahmas
Communications Consultant for Donald J. Trump, Inc.

2018 Lincoln Fellows



Alexander Alden
Senior Advisor for DefensePriorities.org

David Baker
Foreign Service Officer

Gil Barndollar
Military Fellow-in-Residence at the Center for the Study of Statesmanship at the Catholic University of America

Rebecca Burgess
Research Fellow in Foreign and Defense Policy and Program Manager for the Program on American Citizenship at the American Enterprise Institute

John A. Burtka, IV
Executive Director of *The American Conservative*

Kathryn Ciano
Senior Counsel at Uber Technologies

Theodore Cooperstein
Assistant United States Attorney (Southern District of Mississippi)

Andrew Eilts
Deputy Executive Secretary at the Department of Treasury

Inez Feltscher Stepman
Senior Policy Analyst in Education at the Independent Women's Forum

Raheem Kassam
Global Editor-in-Chief of *Human Events*, Former Chief of Staff to Brexit Leader Nigel Farage

Luke M. Perez
Assistant Professor for the School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership at Arizona State University

Mary E. Salvi
Assistant Staff Secretary to the President of the United States

Jarrett Stepman
Columnist for The Heritage Foundation's *The Daily Signal*

Alec Torres
Speechwriter for President Donald Trump

Matthew Tyrmand
Deputy Director of OpenTheBooks.com

2019 Lincoln Fellows



Christopher Bedford
Editor-in-Chief of The Daily Caller News Foundation

James Braid
Policy Director for the House Freedom Caucus

Jennifer Bryson
Visiting Fellow at the Hudson Institute

Dustin Carmack
Chief of Staff to Congressman John Ratcliffe

David Deavel
Editor of *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*

Matthew D. Dickerson
Policy Manager at Americans for Prosperity

Mytheos Holt
Senior Fellow in Freedom to Innovate with the Institute for Liberty

Anna Smith Lacey
Executive Director of The Hungary Initiatives Foundation

Darin Miller
Deputy Press Secretary and Director of Strategic Communications for Vice President Pence

Stafford Palmieri
CEO of HavenPay

Jack Michael Posobiec III
Correspondent and Host for the One America News Network

Sam Schneider
Director of Marketing for Encounter Books

Andrew Veprek
Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration

2018 John Marshall Fellows



Pierce Babirak
Law Clerk for Judge Alice M. Batchelder on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit

Thomas Berry
Attorney for the Pacific Legal Foundation

Rachel Busick
Litigation Counsel at Americans United for Life

Christine Carletta
Law Clerk for Judge Chad A. Readler on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit

Frank Chang
Associate at Wiley Rein

John Ehrett
Associate at Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher LLP

Josh Hammer
Editor-at-Large at *The Daily Wire* and Of Counsel for the First Liberty Institute

Alexander Hoffarth
Associate at Hogan, Lovells

Thomas Molloy
Associate at Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher LLP

Cameron Norris
Law Clerk for Associate Justice Clarence Thomas on the U.S. Supreme Court

Stephen Petrany
Associate at Jones Day

Aaron Reitz
Attorney for Cobb and Counsel

Martin J. Salvucci
Law Clerk for Chief Judge Timothy Tymkovich on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit

Bethany Spare
Law Clerk for Judge Reed O'Connor on the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas

2019 John Marshall Fellows



Bijan Aboutorabi
Law Clerk for Judge William H. Pryor, Jr. on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit

Annika Boone
Law Clerk for Judge Ryan Nelson on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit

Nicholas Caluda
Law Clark for Judge Edith Brown Clement on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit

Michael Cotton
J.D. Student at the University of Texas School of Law

Josh Craddock
Law Clerk for Chief Judge Timothy M. Tymkovich on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit

Nicholas M. Gallagher
Law Clerk for Judge Danny Boggs on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit

Gabriela Gonzalez-Araiza
Constitutional Law Fellow at the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty

Alexander Kazam
Former Law Clerk for Justices Neil M. Gorsuch and Anthony M. Kennedy on the U.S. Supreme Court

Andrea Ludtke
Law Clerk for Judge Carlos T. Bea on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit

Meredith Pohl
Law Clerk for Judge Rhesa H. Barksdale on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit

Zachary Reynolds
J.D. Student at the University of Chicago Law School

Libby Stropko
Law Clerk for the Honorable Judge Kevin C. Newsom on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit

Eric Wessan
Law Clerk for James C. Ho on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit

Karl Worsham
Law Clerk for Judge Carolyn B. McHugh on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit

2018 Speechwriters Fellows

Mary Monica Allen
Advisor on Middle East Policy for the Office of the Secretary of Defense

Mary Katherine Ascik
Speechwriter for U.S. Senator John Thune, Chairman of the Senate Republican Conference

Joshua Bandoch
Speechwriter for Secretary of the Air Force, Dr. Heather Wilson

Christopher Beach
Chief Speechwriter for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

Arina Grossu
Senior Communications Advisor to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Office for Civil Rights

Kevin Grout
Speechwriter for U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell, Senate Majority Leader

Sam Lyman
Speechwriter, Executive Communications at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Arielle Mueller
Deputy Press Secretary for U.S. Senator Marco Rubio

Andrew Quinn
Chief Speechwriter for U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell, Senate Majority Leader

Andy Reuss
Speechwriter at the U.S. Department of Justice

Blake Seitz
Speechwriter for U.S. Senator Tom Cotton

2019 Speechwriters Fellows

Scott Blakeman
Speechwriter at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Jonathan Bronitsky
Chief Speechwriter to the U.S. Attorney General and Senior Advisor for Strategic Communications at the U.S. Department of Justice

Charles Correll III
Deputy Speechwriter for the Office of Republican Leader Kevin McCarthy

Katie Davern
Speechwriter for U.S. Senator Mike Lee

William Eucker
Speechwriter for Admiral James Foggo, the NATO Operational Commander of Allied Joint Force Cammand Naples, Italy, and the Commander of U.S. Naval Forces Europe and Africa

Nicholas G. Hahn III
Director of Speechwriting at the U.S. Department of Education

Daniel Parker
Investigator for the Senate Finance Committee

Angeline Riesterer
Communications Director for U.S. Representative Jaime Herrera Beutler

Matt Salisbury
Communications Consultant

Antonin Scalia
Speechwriter for U.S. Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos

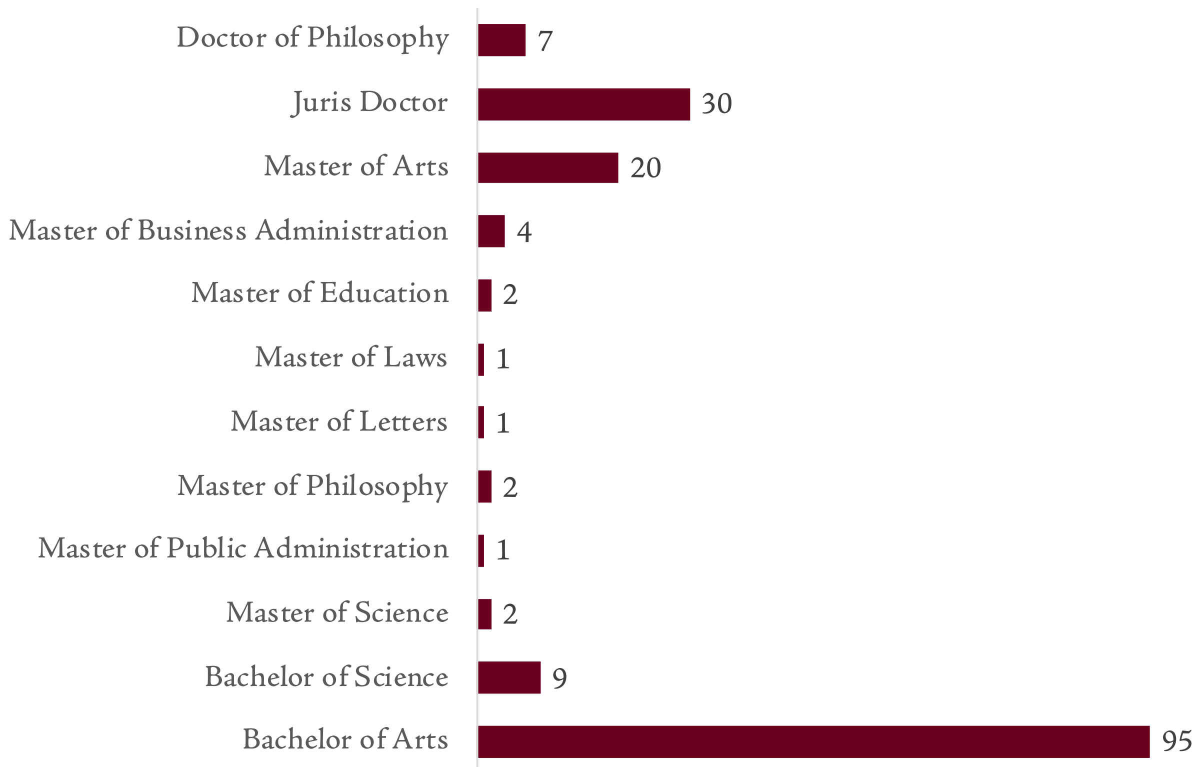
Wilson Shirley
Speechwriter for U.S. Senator Roger Wicker, Chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee

Nicole Stacy
Communications Writer and Principal Speechwriter at the Susan B. Anthony List

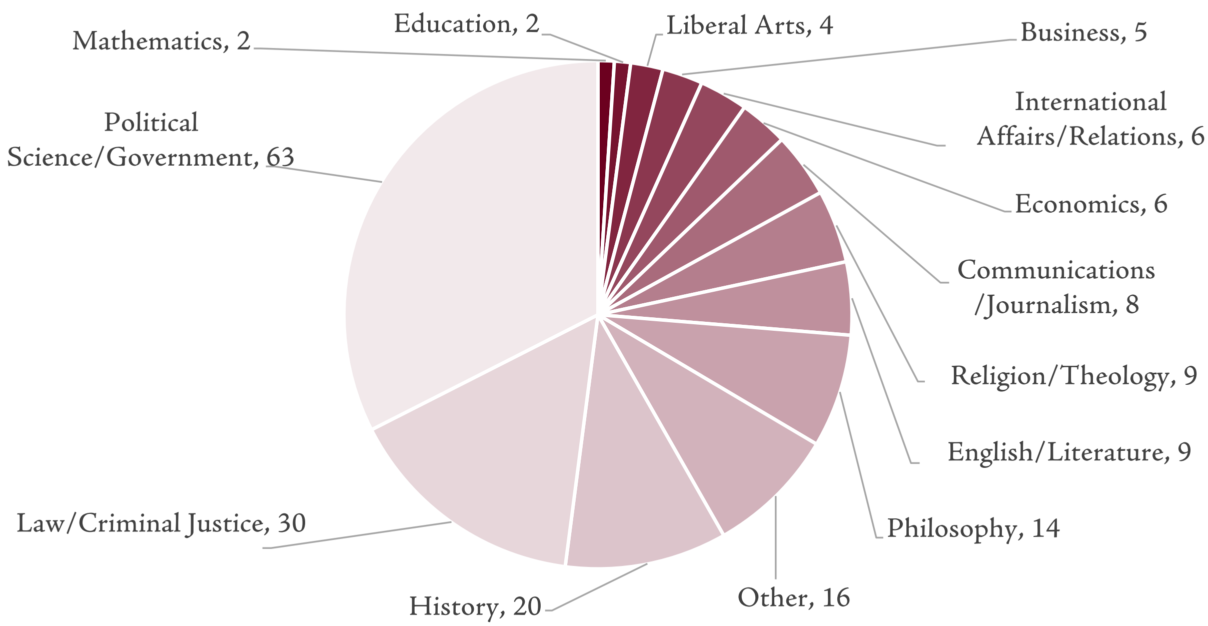
Elad Vaida
Government Relations Associate at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation

2018 – 2019 Fellows at a Glance

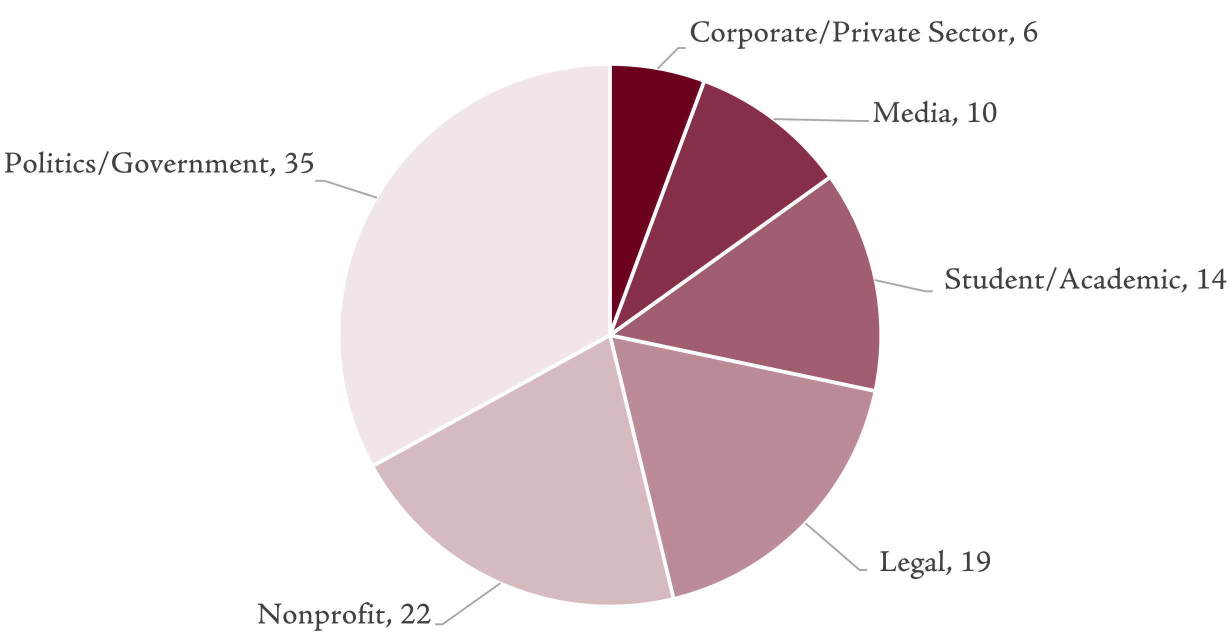
Degrees Earned



Areas of Study



Occupation/Career Field



2018 & 2019 Fellows at a Glance (cont.)

Our fellows studied at:

American University
Boston College
Bowdoin College
Brigham Young University
Calvin College
Catholic University of America
Christendom College
Claremont McKenna College
College of the Holy Cross
College of William and Mary
Columbia College
Columbia University
Cornell University
Corvinus University
Dartmouth College
Davidson College
DePaul University
Duke University
Eotvos Lorand University
Fordham University
George Mason University
George Washington University/Law School
Georgetown University
Grove City College
Harvard University/Law School
Hillsdale College
John Hopkins University
John Paul the Great Catholic University
Kansas State University
Kenyon College
Liberty University
Life Pacific College
Naval Academy
New York University
Northwestern University
Ohio State University
University of Mississippi School of Law
Oxford University
Patrick Henry College
Pennsylvania State University
Pepperdine University School of Law
Princeton University
Providence College
Purdue University
Reed College
Rhodes College
Simon Fraser University
Southern Illinois University
St. John's College
Stanford University/Law School
Talbot Theological Seminary
Temple University
Texas A&M University
The King's College
London School of Economics
Trinity Western University
Truman State University
U.S. Army War College
Universidad de Alcala
University of Arizona
University of California/Law School
University of Cambridge
University of Chicago/Law School
University of Dallas
University of Florida
University of Georgia
University of Hartford
University of Louisville
University of Mary
University of Maryland
University of North Carolina
University of Notre Dame/Law School
University of Oregon
University of Oxford
University of Pennsylvania

University of Pittsburgh
University of Southern Mississippi
University of St. Andrews
University of Texas/Law School
University of Virginia/Law School
University of Westminster
Vanderbilt University/Law School
Villanova University
Wake Forest University
Washington and Lee University
Wesleyan University
West Virginia University
Wheaton College
Whitworth University
William and Mary College
Yale University/Law School

Nonprofits served:

A Soldier's Home
America First Policies
American Enterprise Institute
American Greatness
Americans for Prosperity
Aspen Institute
Becket Fund for Religious Liberty
Big Brothers Big Sisters of America
Buckeye Institute
Cato Institute
Center for Education Reform
Center for Strategic and International Studies
Center for the Study of the Presidency
Charlotte Lozier Institute
Common Sense Society
Connecticut Policy Institute
Council on Foreign Relations
Ethics and Public Policy Center
Family Institute of Connecticut
Family Research Council
Federalist Society
Foundation for Defense of Democracies
Foundation for Individual Rights in Education
Henry Jackson Society
Heritage Action for America
Heritage Foundation
Hertog Foundation
Hudson Institute
Hungary Initiatives Foundation
Hungarian-American Coalition
Institute for Humane Studies
Institute for Justice
Institute for Liberty
Intercollegiate Studies Institute
Jack Miller Center
John Volken Foundation
Liberty Institute
Massachusetts Citizens for Life
Manhattan Institute
National Constitution Center
National Journalism Center
National Review Institute
New Schools for Baton Rouge
Pacific Legal Foundation
Project Veritas
Public Interest Fellowship
Susan B. Anthony List
Taxpayers' Alliance
Teach for America
Texas Public Policy Foundation
Thomas B. Fordham Institute
Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation
Wisconsin Institute for Law & Liberty
Witherspoon Institute
Young Americans for Freedom

Our fellows have written for:

American Conservative
American Greatness
American Interest
American Mind
American Spectator
Arizona Law Review
Babylon Bee
Bloomberg
Breitbart
BYU Prelaw Review
Chicago Tribune
Chicago Unbound
Chinook Observer
Chronicle
City Journal
College Fix
Collegian
Columbian
Commentary
Daily Caller
Daily Signal
Daily Wire
DealBreaker.com
Detroit News
The Federalist
First Things
Fordham Political Review
Foreign Affairs
Fox Business Network
Fox News
George Mason Law Review
George Washington Law Review
Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy
Heti Valasz
The Hill
Human Events
Intercollegiate Review
Jerusalem Post
Journal of Food Law & Policy
Journal of Military Operations
Longview Daily News
Los Angeles Times
Marine Corps Gazette
Merion West
Minding the Campus
Minneapolis Star Tribune
National Interest
National Review
New Lyceum
New York Magazine
New York Post
New York Times
Newsweek
The Observer
Oxford Human Rights Hub
Pepperdine Law Review
Politico
Providence Magazine
Public Discourse
Quillette
RealClearDefense
RealClearPolicy
RealClearPolitics
RealClearReligion
Reason
RedState
The Resurgent
San Francisco Chronicle
SCOTUSblog
Seattle Times
Stanford Law & Policy Review
Texas Review of Law & Politics
Time
Touchstone
Townhall

University of Chicago Law Review
U.S. News & World Report
USA Today
Vancouver Business Journal
Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment & Technology Law
Vanderbilt Law Review
Virginia Law Review
Wall Street Journal
Washington & Lee Political Review
Washington & Lee Spectator
Washington Examiner
Washington Free Beacon
Washington Post
Washington Times
Weekly Standard
WORLD Magazine
WPROST
Yale Daily News
Yale Law & Policy Review
Yale Law Journal

Other awards/fellowships:

Acton Institute's Novak Award
America's Future Foundation Writing Fellows Program
Ankin Law Scholarship
Areté Academy
Bastiat Fellowship
Baton Rouge Business Report "Forty under 40"
Betty Murphy Award
Blackstone Legal Fellow
Bradley Foundation Fellow
Bradley Student Fellow in the Stanford Constitutional Law Center
Charles Carroll Fellow
Clements Center for National Security Graduate Fellowship
Davis UWC Scholars Fellowship
Dean's Circle Fellow
Donald Rumsfeld Foundation Fellowship
Eagle Scout
Edward W. Hinton Moot Court Competition Semifinalist
Forbes "30 under 30" for Law and Policy
Future Policy Initiative Future Leader
Generation Liberty Fellow
George Washington Fellow
Golden Opportunity Scholarship
Heritage Foundation Congressional Fellowship
Heritage Foundation Feulner and Weyrich Fellowship
Hertog Foundation Summer Fellow
Hoover Institution Congressional Fellowship
Instauratio Magna Foundation Seminar
Intercollegiate Studies Institute Honors Program Fellow
James H. Wolfe Award
James Wilson Fellow
John E. Gonzales Senior Award
John Jay Institute Fellowship
Judge Neal B. Biggers Constitutional Law Award
Kirkland & Ellis Scholars Program
Leonine Forum Fellow
Madison Fellow
McConnell Scholar
MS Bar Foundation Service Award
Multicultural Affairs Leadership Award
National Review Institute Regional Fellow
Norton R. Fulbright Best Memo Award
Patrick Henry Award for Leadership
Penn Kemble Fellow
Philos Leadership Institute
Robert McKay Scholar
Robert Novak Fellow
Rotary International Ambassadorial Scholar
Russell Miller Memorial Award
Tikvah Fellowship
Trinity Fellows Academy
Washington Examiner "30 Under 30"


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REVIEW
Journal of Political
CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICS
Pat
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WE THE
PEOPL
Michael An
In Praise of Tuck
Larry
Andrew Rob
CLAR
REVIEW
A Journal of Political
William Voegeli:
The Politics of Race
Peter Skerry:
Becoming White
Nicholas Eberstadt:
Working Man Blues
Christopher Flannery:
David McCullough's Pioneers
John J. DiIulio, Jr.:
On Marijuana
Targeting
by Michael

We Write
Claremont Review of Books

The mission of the Claremont Institute is to restore the principles of the American Founding to their rightful and preeminent authority in our national life. This mission has become necessary because more than a century ago America's founding principles—"the definitions and axioms of free society" as Abraham Lincoln called them—came under attack from certain academics and other intellectuals in what came to be known as the Progressive Movement. By writing articles and essays, publishing books, and founding magazines, these Progressives captured the public mind and succeeded over time in transforming the character of American politics. They gave Americans a new way to think and talk about politics, one that sacrificed limited constitutional government in favor of an unlimited bureaucratic state.

Having dispensed with the principles of natural rights and natural justice, the old Progressivism's challenge to the American way of government has given way to an even more strident attack on the American way of life. This new politics of identity, or multiculturalism, has shown it will use any tool at its disposal—politicized courts, socialist economics, immigration policy, social media censorship, environmental panic, even mob violence—to dissolve the bonds that unite us as citizens.

If we are to recover the basis of free government, we must defeat the ideology of identity politics. To date, conservatism's efforts in policy and populism have not been successful because neither goes to the heart of the matter. The only way to expose and ultimately triumph over pernicious ideas is likewise at the level of ideas. And one of the best ways to advance the cause of the Claremont Institute is to make our case in our own name by publishing our own intellectual, political journal as an answer and rebuke to leftists everywhere. As our editor, Charles Kesler, put it in our inaugural issue, published in the fall of 2000, the book review "is a format that conservatives have not exploited .... The galaxy of conservative journals and think tanks will continue to shine brightly ... illuminating ideas as well as issues. But every month important conservative books and arguments languish, liberal tomes escape censure, and intelligent works of biography, history, politics, and literature remain unexamined."

And so, over the past two years, we've carefully traced the shortsightedness not only of liberal titles like Steven Pinker's *Enlightenment Now* and Michael Walzer's *A Foreign Policy for the Left,* but also of books that have received much attention on the right such as Patrick Deneen's *Why Liberalism Failed* (which rejects America's founding principles) and Yoram Hazony's *The Virtue of Nationalism* (which, although it too misunderstands America's political tradition, won ISI's Conservative Book of the Year award). And we've been able to highlight excellent work like Andrew Roberts's single-volume biography *Churchill: Walking with Destiny* and the pioneering scholarship of Forrest Nabors's *From Oligarchy to Republicanism: The Great Task of Reconstruction*, as well as Heather Mac Donald's fearless *The Diversity Delusion: How Race and Gender Pandering Corrupt the University and Undermine Our Culture*.

What does it mean to be conservative today? Are we populist or traditionalist? Classical liberal or modern realist? Stalwarts of the Reagan Revolution or something new and fitting to these unique times? Right now, every thoughtful conservative is grappling with

these questions—and these are the very questions we tackle in every issue of the *Claremont Review of Books*. In 2016, with our publication of the now famous essay "The Flight 93 Election"—which continues to be widely commented upon as the key to understanding the election of Donald Trump, and has since been expanded into a book—Michael Anton examined the present crisis in the conservative movement. We were open to all intelligent points of view on the emerging Trump phenomenon, and uniquely so, never succumbing to the dead end of Never Trumpism. And we'll continue to evaluate President Trump and his administration by the light of American principles, even as we do our part to advance a new American agenda, cheerfully and energetically, through this administration and beyond.

Since then, our Winter 2018/19 cover essay, "Trumpism, Nationalism, and Conservatism" by Christopher DeMuth, provided a rich exploration of how conservatism and nationalism are being redefined in the current age. The essay was cited in several places, including most recently in a long profile by Jacob Heilbrunn in the *New York Review of Books*. (A shorter version of DeMuth's essay was adapted to run in the *Wall Street Journal*, reaching a global audience of over 42 million readers.) In our Summer 2018 issue, Michael Anton had sensibly asked in his essay "Will the Real Authoritarian Please Stand Up" how the election of Donald J. Trump could signal the end of American democracy, when it's liberals who have done so much for more than a century to remove political decisions from the reach of ordinary citizens. And in a wide-ranging interview with Norman Podhoretz in the Spring 2019 *CRB*, the original neocon explained why he now supports President Trump. As soon as this interview was published, it became a must-read, with Dinesh D'Souza, Sohrab Ahmari, Ben Domenech, Matthew Schmitz, Ann Coulter, and Mollie Hemingway commenting on it.

Senior editor William Voegeli showed in "Racism, Revised" (Fall 2018) how the term "racism" is being dangerously redefined in our age of identity politics. Claremont Institute Chairman Thomas D. Klingenstein followed up in our Spring 2019 issue with a new call to arms to defend the United States against forces that seek to divide it. In "Patriotism vs. Multiculturalism," he declared multiculturalism to be "the central issue and threat—the Communism or slavery, as it were—of our time."

In 2019 we added Christopher Caldwell as a contributing editor to the *CRB*. In standout essays he's tried to understand what the term "populism" means politically by looking at the example of Europe (Fall 2018), and then zeroed in on Hungary's dissatisfaction with contemporary liberalism (Spring 2019), an essay which was then quoted by Anne Applebaum in the *Washington Post* and by the *New York Post* in an editorial. In the same issue, Yale computer scientist David Gelernter lit a firestorm throughout the blogosphere with his essay on why he is no longer persuaded by Darwin's theory of evolution.

We've added new writers to our pages—not only David Gelernter, but David Bernstein, Andrew Ferguson, Samuel Gregg, Charles Hill, Roger Kimball, Daniel McCarthy, and Amy Wax. And we continue to feature superb essays and reviews from regular contributors like Angelo Codevilla, David Goldman, Allen Guelzo, Mark Helprin, and Algis Valiunas.

The *Claremont Review of Books* provides a nationwide hearing for the insights and arguments of

these great minds. Our articles are regularly highlighted at *Real Clear Politics* and Power Line blog, along with The Federalist, PJ Media, and elsewhere, and discussed in the *Atlantic*, *National Review*, the *New York Review of Books*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*—in fact, wherever conversation on American politics is being shaped.

Just take a look at George Will's newest book, *The Conservative Sensibility*—his definitive statement on what he's learned of American politics from five decades of observing it up close in the nation's capital. There are citations in the book to several *CRB* essays and more than a dozen *CRB* contributors, and the single most cited scholar in the book is Claremont-trained Ronald Pestritto (for his groundbreaking work on Woodrow Wilson).

We're proud to count among our subscribers White House officials, members of Congress, and Supreme Court Justices, as well as leading media figures and commenters. Senator Tom Cotton boasted of faithfully reading the *CRB* while deployed in Iraq. Peter Thiel has declared that "the *Claremont Review of Books* is one of the very few existing publications actually worth hand distributing via mimeograph in the politically correct police state its enemies would like to see." Roger Scruton has pointed to the *CRB* as "proof that conservatism is a living and civilizing force in American intellectual life, and a powerful challenge to the dominance of the academic left." Ben Shapiro called us "an indispensable resource for those who seek profound thought and eternal truths." And Walter Russell Mead praised the *CRB's* "commitment to excellent writing and the bold exposition of sometimes controversial ideas" that offer readers "valuable and original perspectives on the pressing issues of the day as well as new insight into timeless questions of consequence." In less than 20 years, we've garnered a devoted following, "despite remaining a David compared to the Goliaths of the Left," as our editor has put it. As the *American Thinker* advised, "If you do not read the superb *Claremont Review of Books*, you are missing the most intellectually honest and deep conservative thinking available today."

Our paid subscriptions have increased by over 35% since July 2017 (3% of which are international subscribers). And the total number of *CRB*s printed (which, in addition to paid subscribers, includes newsstand distribution, fellowship alumni, media, and donors) has increased in the past year by nearly 20%, from 14,300 to 17,000.

The *Claremont Review of Books* has been called a graduate education in itself. Drawing from the deep well of American political thought and Western civilization, each issue takes time to read and digest. There is something more enduring about each of our issues than there is about any of the other good conservative publications. This reflects the fact that there is something enduring about the things we talk about. We aim at something higher and more essential than the daily or weekly or even monthly wrangles over policy and politics. We seek to elevate the public discourse, and in our best moments, we have succeeded. That is our greatest strength and the greatest service we can render. There is no other publication better equipped to do it. ■

the American Mind

A PUBLICATION OF THE CLAREMONT INSTITUTE

We Write
The American Mind

The Claremont Institute created *The American Mind* (americanmind.org) in October 2018, with an accompanying monthly podcast. In the midst of rising political contention, confusion, and change, *The American Mind* (TAM) is designed to help maintain the Claremont Institute as the intellectual center of the most important debates about the future of the American political and social order.

TAM's mission is twofold: first, to establish the Claremont Institute with today's online audience as the leading intellectual organization on the Right by hosting debate and discussion; second, to bring together a new audience and coalition of established and rising leaders, thinkers, and writers to discuss how best to revitalize American politics and culture.

Editor Dr. Matthew Peterson, the Claremont Institute's Vice President of Education, started *TAM* with Executive Editor and author Dr. James Poulos, a 2010 Publius Fellow and prolific writer on technology and the American character. Managing Editor David Bahr, a 2016 Lincoln Fellow, was formerly the communications director at the R Street Institute and assistant literary editor at *The Weekly Standard*. Assistant Editor Spencer Klavan is a rising young writer and classicist who serves in the same capacity for the *CRB*.

Together, they have created a unique style and substance that revolves around a weekly publication schedule discussing major political developments with philosophical import. *TAM* brings in audiences looking for deeper discussion and consideration of the ideas behind the news cycle while studiously avoiding the shallow "clickbait" quality of many online publications.

TAM features the work of national figures including leading scholars, thinkers, and doers outside Claremont from across the political spectrum. *TAM* has also broken the mold by publishing extraordinarily influential online voices, engaging their young audiences in an extended encounter with the strategic thinking of the Founders, Lincoln, and the Claremont Institute as a whole.

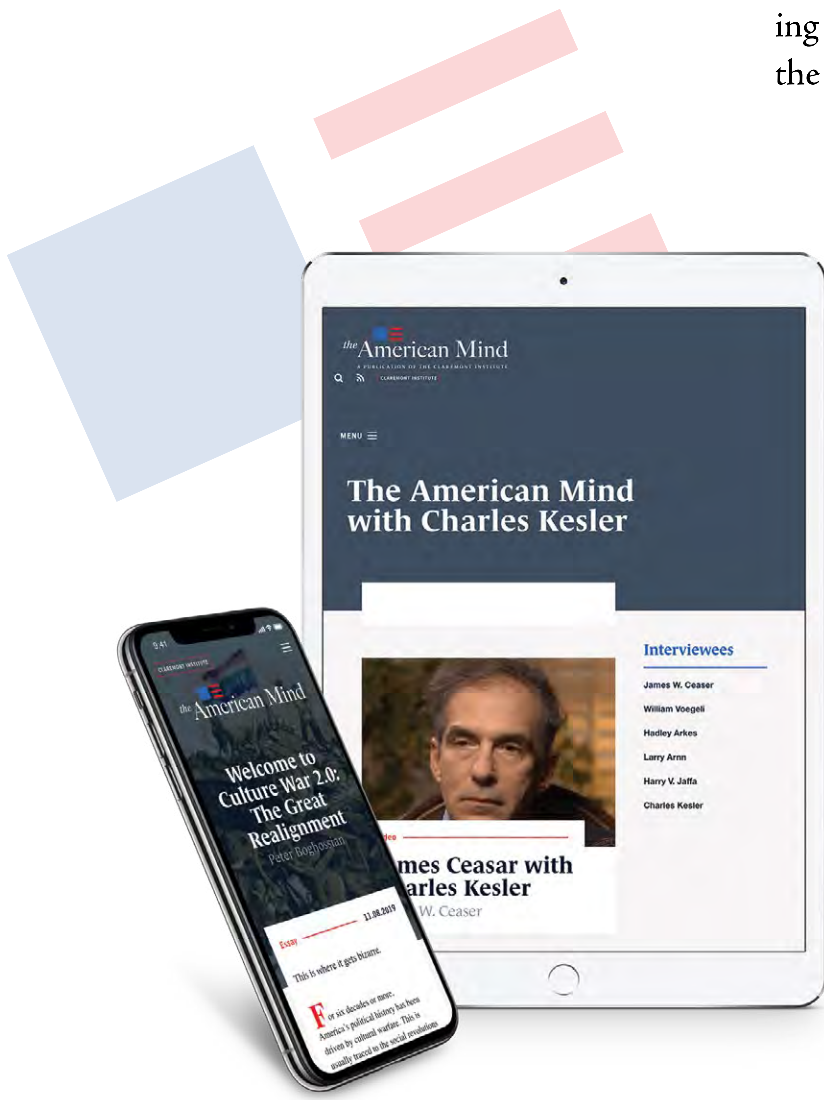
Audience growth has been rapid and steady. In its first year, during a gradual ramp up of content and staff, *TAM* achieved 1.1 million page views, and its audience and social media following is growing at an ever-increasing rate. The *CRB* and *TAM* have benefitted from cross pollination: monthly subscriptions to the *CRB* have increased since *TAM* launched, and clear distinctions in content type at each site have ensured each can cross-promote to the audiences of the other.

The challenge of the radicalizing left and tectonic technological and social changes demand new approaches to preserving America's regime. *TAM* is dedicated to facing the challenge, driving the reformation of the political agenda at the highest level by applying founding principles to regime-level questions about governance, citizenship, nationhood, and statecraft in a digital age.

Where many stagnating legacy institutions on the right are failing to maintain their leadership role in the current tumult of American politics, *TAM* is successfully filling the gap. The *TAM* team has quickly established the site as a fixture of the national conversation among rising and mid-career political professionals in Washington and elsewhere.

The existence and quality of content on *TAM* has opened doors to new relationships with politicos, thinkers, members of the private sector, and well-established institutions interested in rethinking ideas, policy, and rhetoric on the Right in significant areas from the tech world to education policy.

TAM is now considered to be at the vanguard of Claremont's role in re-forming the new dominant coalition on the Right, routinely putting Claremont's ideas and scholars in contact with the ongoing national conversation. As Matthew Continetti wrote in the *National Review*, "The Claremont Institute and its affiliated publications, including the new website *The American Mind*, have taken the lead in attempting to develop a pro-Trump conservatism in line with the principles of the American Founding." ■





Spencer Klavan, Ryan Williams, Matt Peterson, and James Poulos recording in the Claremont Institute's new podcast studio at their headquarters in Upland, California.


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The Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence

Changes in the Supreme Court are opening new opportunities for the Center for Constitutional Jurisprudence (CCJ) to make progress on its litigation goals. The end of the Supreme Court's 2017 term brought three significant victories. In *National Institute of Family and Life Associates v. Becerra*, CCJ was co-counsel for the petitioner. The Court ruled for our client, striking down a California law that required pro-life pregnancy centers to advertise the availability of abortions. The Court also ruled for CCJ's position in two cases where we appeared as amicus: *Janus v. AFCSME*, which held that public employees could no longer be required to support the public employee union as a condition of continued employment, and *Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado*, which reversed a state discrimination decision against a custom wedding cake designer who declined to make a cake for a same-sex wedding. The Court ruled that the state administrative process was infected with anti-religious bigotry. We are pursuing follow-up litigation on this issue in the United States Supreme Court (*Arlene's Flowers v. Ingersoll*), and we are urging the Court to take cases for its current term and to rule that these regulations impose an impermissible requirement that people give voice to government-imposed viewpoints that run contrary to their faith.

The end of the 2018 term (in June 2019) brought more significant victories. The Supreme Court ruled in *American Legion v. American Humanist Association* that the Establishment Clause does NOT prohibit public war memorials that include a Latin cross. At issue was a World War I War Memorial (The Bladensburg Cross) on public property in Maryland. This Court decision should put an end to the seemingly endless series of complaints challenging crosses and other religious symbols that have been in place for decades.

In *Kisor v. Wilke*, we urged the Supreme Court in our brief to rule that federal courts should stop the practice of courts deferring to administrative agencies for the interpretation of administrative regulations. While the Court did not adopt our argument, it did impose significant new restrictions on the practice. As Justice Gorsuch noted, the decision "is more a stay of execution than a pardon" for the doctrine of judicial deference. CCJ has been challenging judicial deference to administrative agencies since its beginning, as a violation of the principle of separation of powers. This decision gives hope that the Court may be willing to start trimming the power of the administrative state.

The Court also issued a significant victory for property rights. The Fifth Amendment provides that the government can only take property if it pays just compensation. An earlier ruling, however, required property owners to first file a case in state court to see if the state would pay compensation before the property owner could bring a challenge in federal court. Later cases then ruled that once the case was litigated in state court, the property owner was barred from filing a new challenge in federal court—in effect, property owners were barred from the federal courts when it came to enforcing their property rights. In *Knick v. Township of Scott*, the Supreme Court finally overturned the state litigation requirement. Agreeing with arguments presented by CCJ, the Court ruled that the constitution is violated as soon as the property has been taken without any payment. Once there has been a constitutional violation, the property owner is free to bring a case in federal court.

The Supreme Court's new 2019 term that began last October promises to be just as important. The Court has already heard the case of *R.G.&G.R. Harris Funeral Home v. EEOC*, on the issue of whether Congress intended the prohibition against discrimination based on "sex" to also apply to "transgender" individuals. The Court will also hear three cases challenging President Trump's decision to end the DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) program. The Court will have to decide whether what was imposed without any formal process by President Obama can be undone by President Trump. The Court is also hearing a Second Amendment case for only the second time in a decade. At issue in *New York State Rifle & Pistol Association v. City of New York* is the standard of review that should be applied when state and local governments impose restrictions on Second Amendment rights to keep and bear arms. Finally, the Court has also agreed to hear a challenge to a Montana law that allowed scholarships to students to attend the school of their choice. The Montana Supreme Court struck down the law because it allowed students the freedom to choose a religious school.

One other amicus case of special note is currently pending in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. *Muthana v. Pompeo* is a case brought by the father of a young woman who went to Syria to join ISIS. She is now seeking readmission to the United States, claiming citizenship since she was born here when her father was posted in this country as a diplomat. The District Court ruled against her claim, and she has now appealed. The case raises the issue of birthright citizenship, which the Claremont Institute and CCJ have been arguing against on both moral and constitutional grounds for the past three decades.

CCJ continues to be in the forefront of efforts to restore the Separation of Powers that lies at the core of our constitutional system of government. One of the lead cases in this effort this term will be *Seila Law LLC v. Consumer Financial Protection Bureau*. The issue is whether the law creating the CFPB is constitutional because Congress set the agency up to be independent from presidential control—even though the agency is in the Executive Branch of government. The decision in this case may help impose limits on other so-called "independent" agencies that are not subject to political control—and thus are not answerable to voters.

CCJ continues to work on direct representation cases as well. *Gleason v. Padilla* challenges the manner in which counties verify the signatures on initiative and referendum petitions. The case is in the Third District Court of Appeal in California. That same court upheld our trial court victory with a published decision in *Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association v. Brown*, a challenge to state legislation that attempts to repeal the ban on public financing of election campaigns that was enacted by voter initiative. The court struck down the law as violating the constitutional protections that prohibit legislative repeal of voter initiatives.

We have also filed a complaint in federal district court in Los Angeles representing the Pasadena Republican Club against the City of Pasadena and the Western Justice Center. The Club had contracted to use a facility owned by the City of Pasadena and leased to the Western Justice Center for a meeting at which Dr. John Eastman was scheduled to speak. The director of the Western Justice Center cancelled the contract less than three hours before the event was scheduled to start because Dr. Eastman was on

the board of the National Organization for Marriage. The complaint raises claims of Free Speech and discrimination based on Free Exercise of Religion. ■



Judge Diarmuid F. O'Scannlain, Senior Judge for U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, accepts the Ronald Reagan Jurisprudence Award at the Claremont Institute's 2018 Constitution Day Celebration.



Attendees listen to a panel discussion on affirmative action and multiculturalism at the Claremont Institute's 2019 Constitution Day Celebration.


JUSTICE on TRIAL
Montage

Events & Continuing Education

Since opening our Washington, DC satellite office in early 2016, the Claremont Institute has reached tens of thousands on the East Coast through a variety of educational events, increasing our visibility, expanding our network, and amplifying our influence.

Whether educating a room full of Republican Senators about the "Crisis of Two Constitutions," as Charles Kesler was invited to do before the Senate Steering Committee, or hosting regular roundtable discussions for Claremont alumni in Washington on topics ranging from "The Ruling Class in the Age of Trump" with Angelo Codevilla to "Unmasking the Administrative State" with John Marini, or broadcasting a panel discussion about "Trump, Executive Power, and the Bully Pulpit" to millions of C-SPAN viewers across the nation, Claremont scholarship is reaching new and critical audiences every day.

As we expand our presence throughout the nation, Claremont continues to serve as a bastion of a distinctively American conservatism on the West Coast. In addition to private salons and book launches, we've marked each year with Constitution Day programs and our Annual Gala. 2019 was a big milestone for Claremont—40 years! To celebrate the occasion, and the impact Claremont scholarship has had on the study of political philosophy and statesmanship, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo delivered our keynote address—a very apt address titled "A Foreign Policy From the Founding." We invite you to visit our website to read or watch the Secretary's remarks, which form the basis of the State Department's important new Commission on Unalienable Rights.

Coast to coast, Claremont is providing the scholarship and platform necessary to help Americans understand the ideas that have made America great—and will revive and sustain that greatness into the future.

Event highlights from the past two years include:

- A series of panels at the annual American Political Science Association conference in San Francisco, CA (September 2017); Boston, MA (September 2018); and Washington, DC. (September 2019)
- A rooftop reception for local alumni at the Claremont Institute offices in downtown Washington, D.C. (September 2017)
- A panel on **The Resistance and the New Violent Left**, with Angelo Codevilla, Henry Olsen, William Voegeli, and Michael Walsh. (October 2017)
- An annual alumni retreat and Salvatori Dinner celebrating the work of Thomas G. West (October 2017) and Michael M. Uhlmann. (October 2018)
- A panel discussion on **The Tyranny of Identity Politics** with Charles Kesler, Mark Lilla, and Heather Mac Donald. (November 2017)
- A private reception welcoming alumni in town for the Federalist Society's National Lawyers Convention in Washington, DC. (November 2017, 2018 & 2019)



Claremont alumni David Azerrad, Inez Feltscher Stepman, Jarrett Stepman, and Matt Tyrmand attend an event at the Harvard Club in New York City in November 2019.



Ryan Williams joins Claremont alumnus Ilan Wurman at the Heritage Foundation in November 2017 to discuss the implications of "originalism" and how the framework of the Founders can be preserved today.



Attendees listen to a panel discussion on the Resistance and the new violent left at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, DC in October 2017.

- A private party at the White House bowling alley for a small group of donors and alumni. (February 2018)
- A panel discussion, co-hosted with The Heritage Foundation and taped on C-SPAN, on **Trump, Executive Power, and the Bully Pulpit**, featuring Charles Kesler, John Fonte, and Adam White. (March 2018)
- A book event, also taped by C-SPAN, about Joseph Tartakovksy's book, ***The Lives of the Constitution: Ten Exceptional Minds that Shaped America' s Supreme Law***. (April 2018)
- A private alumni roundtable discussion with Angelo Codevilla on **The Ruling Class in the Age of Trump**. (April 2018)
- An address on **The Crisis of Two Constitutions** by Charles Kesler before the Senate Steering Committee. (May 2018)
- A reception honoring Claremont senior fellows Charles Kesler and Allen Guelzo, both recipients of the prestigious 2018 Bradley Prize. (May 2018)
- A roundtable discussion with former National Security Advisor to President Ronald Reagan, Bud McFarlane. (June 2018)
- A panel discussion, co-hosted with the Heritage Foundation, on **The Kavanaugh Hearing: A Battle of Two Constitutions**, featuring remarks from John Eastman, Hadley Arkes, Tom Jipping, and Michael McGinley. (July 2018)
- A panel discussion on **The Case Against Birthright Citizenship**, featuring Ed Erler, Michael

Anton, and John Fonte. (September 2018)

- A conversation about Yoram Hazony's, ***The Virtue of Nationalism***, with remarks from Matthew Spalding, Colin Dueck, and Claremont President Ryan Williams. (October 2018)

- A private roundtable discussion with Admiral Dennis Blair and Claremont alumni in the national security arena. (November 2018)

- An alumni roundtable discussion with John Marini to discuss his new book, ***Unmasking the Administrative State***. (February 2019)

- A conversation on The Real Crisis of American Politics, with John Marini and Michael Anton. (February 2019)

- An alumni roundtable with John Eastman about the question, **Will Hoda Muthana Be the Landmark Case On Birthright Citizenship?** (March 2019)

- A panel discussion on **America's Cold Civil War**, featuring remarks by Ryan Williams, Christopher Caldwell, David Azerrad, and Michael Anton. (March 2019)

- An alumni reception for local alumni at the Claremont Institute's new offices on Capitol Hill. (May 2019)

- A conference on **Multiculturalism vs. America**, featuring panels on "Trump, Multiculturalism, and America" and "American Citizenship and National Identity" as well as keynote remarks by Christopher DeMuth on "Trumpism, Nationalism, and Conservatism." (May 2019) ■



Clark Judge, Michael Anton, David DesRosiers, and Rupert Darwall attend the closing dinner for the 2019 Speechwriters Fellowship at the University Club in Washington, DC.



A panel discussion during the 2018 Alumni Retreat at the City Tavern Club in Washington, DC.



Alumni converse during the 2019 Alumni Retreat at the City Tavern Club in Washington, DC.


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In Memoriam
Michael Martin Uhlmann, 1939 – 2019

On October 8, 2019, Michael Uhlmann died at the age of 79. He was beloved in many ways by many people: by his former colleagues in the Ford and Reagan administrations as a tireless public servant; by his readers as a lucid and engaging interpreter of political events; by his students as a capacious mind and a generous mentor; by his friends and family as a man of gentle heart and wise counsel; and by all of us at Claremont as a colleague without peer. His legendary defense of the Electoral College when it was up for abolition in 1970 "was widely credited with helping Senators to scuttle what would have been a constitutional travesty," in the words of Claremont President Ryan Williams.

Michael Uhlmann's writing, teaching, and friendship were gifts to the world direct from the God he loved. We regret that we can only include here a few excerpts from the many warm and affectionate tributes to him that his death occasioned. Readers are invited to read more of these tributes in the Fall 2019 issue of the *Claremont Review of Books*.

Michael Anton

"I knew Michael Uhlmann as five things: a devoted father and grandfather, a serious Catholic, a kindly and knowledgeable teacher, a formidable corporate lawyer, and a political mover and shaker.

Those who first got to know Mike after he had left the practice of law and taken up full-time teaching may have never seen the more formidable side of him. The no-nonsense authority he adopted in his political and legal dealings was neither an affectation nor central to his character, but rather necessary armor to make his way and hold his own, to gain and keep respect, in a series of cutthroat environments. When among friends, he didn't need it, and so didn't use it. As Mike himself said, and everyone who knew him said of him, he loved teaching infinitely more than he loved the law or even politics. He was finally doing what he wanted to do, what he felt born to do. And he was happy."

Michael Anton is a lecturer in politics and research fellow at Hillsdale College, and a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute.

Hadley Arkes

This excerpt is reprinted with permission of the licensor through PLSclear from the "Acknowledgments and Dedication" of Natural Rights and the Right to Choose *(Cambridge University Press, 2002).*

"The final word is for Michael Uhlmann. Man of letters, counsel without peer, raconteur with limitless range, sustainer of families, runner to the rescue, devoted son of the Church, maddeningly self-effacing. For matters of moral consequence, enduring alertness; for pretension, unremitting jest. And in friendship, untiring, with the touch of grace that lifts everything .... The sparest account of Michael, and the one most readily recognized, might well be that account, in All's Well That Ends Well, of Bertram's late father, a man legendary for his wisdom in council. Of him the poet writes that:

... his honour
Clock to itself, knew the true minute when
Exception bade him speak, and at this time
His tongue obeyed his hand."

Hadley Arkes is the Edward N. Ney Professor of Jurisprudence Emeritus at Amherst College, and the founder and director of the James Wilson Institute on Natural Rights and the American Founding.



Michael Uhlmann speaks at the Claremont Institute's 2018 Constitution Day Celebration.



Michael Uhlmann receives the 2018 Henry Salvatori Prize in the American Founding.

James L. Buckley

"Mike was a soft-spoken man of deep intelligence, one who combined a lovely sense of humor with an iron adherence to thought-through principle. Although he was only 32 when he came to work on my Senate staff, he had already acquired an understanding of the Constitution's political and philosophical roots that was of a depth and breadth that would prove of the greatest importance to me."

James L. Buckley served as a U.S. senator (NY), an undersecretary of state for international security affairs, and a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit.

D. Alan Heslop

"Mike had made friends everywhere. He gave enormous energy and great organizational skill to dozens of worthy conservative causes: their leaders owed him favors and he called them in—for others, often his students.

Many of Mike's friends recounted the pleasures of his company. They and his students remembered the mischievous wit, the deft interruption, the telling anecdote, and the robust laughter of a man at ease with his world. His conversation, with or without whiskey or wine, always sparkled. He gave help quietly, almost secretly. Few knew the work he did for poor nuns at Thanksgiving, when he painted, cooked, and cleaned for them.

God bless you, Mike, our dear friend, great teacher, and true Christian gentleman."

D. Alan Heslop is professor of government emeritus at Claremont McKenna College, former executive director of the California Republican Party, and founding director of CMC's Rose Institute of State and Local Government.

Wilfred M. McClay

"As I gradually got to know Mike, I found out (mostly through his other, closer friends) that life had dealt him a very tough hand, with far more than the usual share of personal woes and disappointments. But you would never have guessed it from his radiant countenance, and he never, ever talked about such things, at least not to me. He carried the burdens of his life with an air of quiet but immense dignity, leavened by humor and undergirded by immense and visceral gratitude to God for the sheer privilege of existing—in this time, this place, this country."

Wilfred McClay holds the G.T. and Libby Blankenship Chair in the History of Liberty at the University of Oklahoma.

Jean M. Yarbrough

"To a few of us, Michael quickly became known by the slightly, but only slightly, irreverent sobriquet, Father Mikey. That playful address went to the heart of who he was: a light-hearted man of faith who brought uncommon joy and grace into our lives. Above all, Mike was the very best kind of friend, one who freely shared his wisdom and his worldly goods.

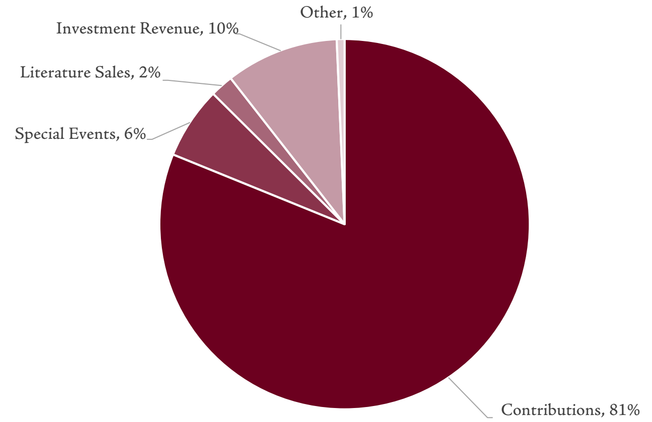
When my husband was succumbing to terminal cancer, Mike sent the following email, informing me that coming our way were several CDs of Gregorian chants. I shall let Mike's own words speak to us now in our sorrow at his death: 'It is the true music of the spheres, and I cannot think of anything more comforting as the bell tolls. Put on one of those CDs, pour yourself a drink, and let the prospect of eternity warm you. Be not afraid.' Requiesce in pace, Fr. Mikey."

Jean M. Yarbrough is professor of government and the Gary M. Pendy, Sr. Professor of Social Sciences at Bowdoin College.

Financials

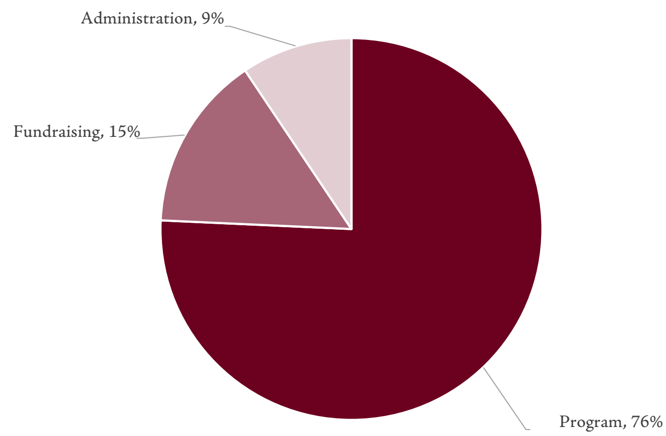
Revenue

Revenue	FY 2019
Contributions & Pledges	$5,021,126
Special Events	$389,525
Literature Sales	$124,619
Investment Revenue	$610,478
Other Revenue	$42,021
Total	**$6,187,769**



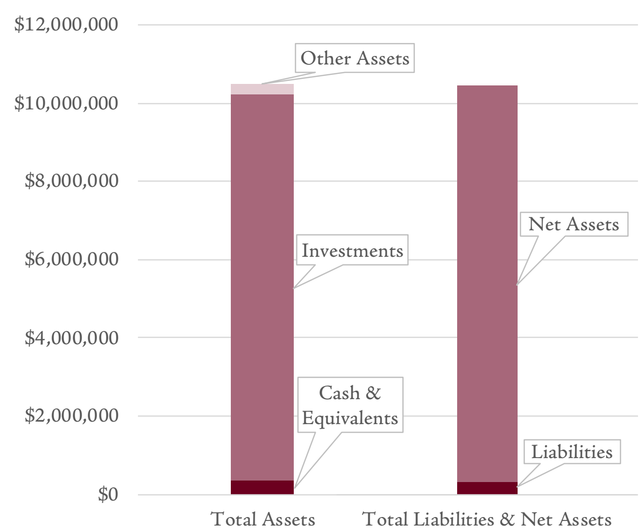
Expenses

Expenses	FY 2019
Program	$4,170,993
Fundraising	$819,221
General & Administration	$517,877
Total	**$5,508,091**
Change in Net Assets	***$679,678***



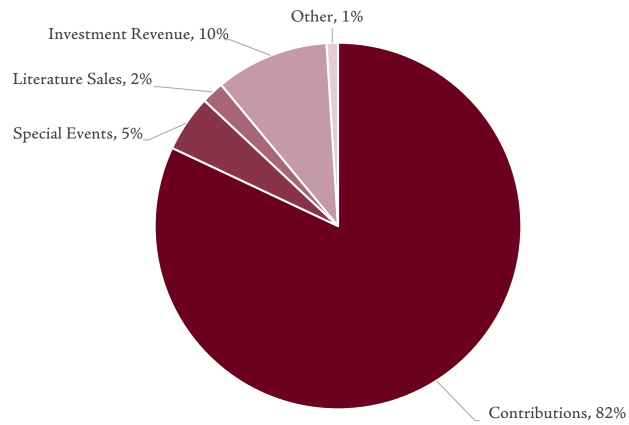
Assets, Liabilities & Net Assets

Assets, Liabilities & Net Assets	FY 2019
Cash & Equivalents	$343,178
Investments	$9,891,809
Other Assets	$256,062
Total Assets	**$10,491,049**
Liabilities	$327,382
Net Assets	$10,163,667
Total Liabilities & Net Assets	**$10,491,049**



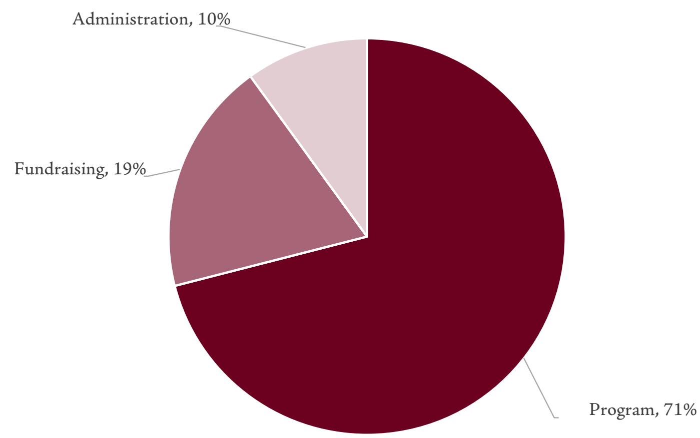
Revenue

Revenue	*FY 2018*
Contributions & Pledges	$4,277,426
Special Events	$215,203
Literature Sales	$120,341
Investment Revenue	$418,754
Other Revenue	$29,649
Total	**$5,061,373**



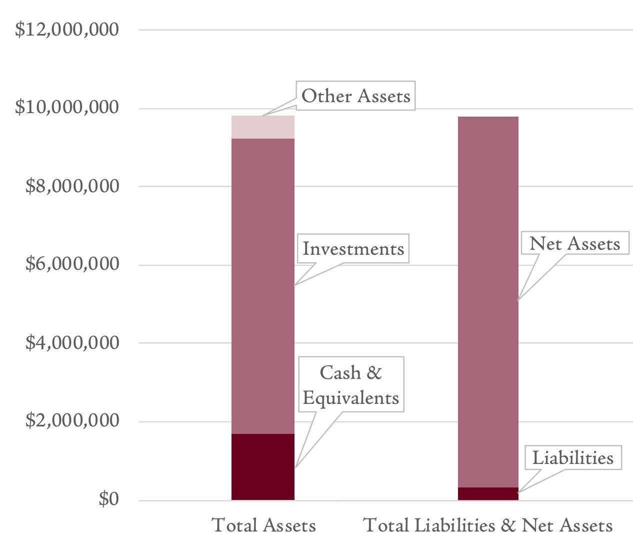
Expenses

Expenses	*FY 2018*
Program	$3,231,692
Fundraising	$861,585
General & Administration	$465,087
Total	**$4,558,364**
Change in Net Assets	***$503,009***



Assets, Liabilities & Net Assets

Assets, Liabilities & Net Assets	*FY 2018*
Cash & Equivalents	$1,691,722
Investments	$7,558,399
Other Assets	$561,438
Total Assets	**$9,811,559**
Liabilities	$327,570
Net Assets	$9,483,989
Total Liabilities & Net Assets	**$9,811,559**



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